

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-11 ISO-00
ICAE-00 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 SSO-00 INRE-00
/105 W

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O 020140Z JUN 78

FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1728

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 02233

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, SF, WA

SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: NEXT STEPS

CONTACT GROUP MET MAY 31 AND JUNE 1 TO DISCUSS NEXT
STEPS ON NAMIBIA. FOLLOWING IS AGREED CONTACT GROUP
REPORT ON THOSE DISCUSSIONS, INCLUDING TALKING POINTS
FOR USE IN INFORMAL MEETING WITH FOURIE:

- (1) IN LIGHT OF THE MEETING NOW APPARENTLY SCHEDULED
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FOR JUNE 3 BETWEEN PRESIDENTS NETO AND KAUNDA AND THE
UNLIKELIHOOD OF ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS ON A FRONTLINE
SUMMIT PRIOR TO THAT MEETINGS, CONTACT GROUP AGREED THAT
APPROACHES TO FRONTLINE STATES SHOULD BE BELD UP UNTIL
THE STATUS OF THE SUMMIT HAS BEEN CLARIFIED.

- (2) GROUP THEN CONSIDERED FOLLOW-UP APPROACH TO

SOUTH AFRICANS. THE PURPOSE OF SUCH AN APPROACH WOULD BE: (A) TO INFORM THEM OF LATEST DEVELOPMENTS, PARTICULARLY THE POSSIBILITY OF A FRONTLINE SUMMIT IN THE NEAR FUTURE; (B) TO AGAIN MAKE CLEAR OUR OPPOSITION TO AN ANNOUNCEMENT OR IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROPOSED REGISTRATION OF VOTERS; AND (C) TO PROVIDE SOUTH AFRICANS WITH A GREATER UNDERSTANDING OF "POSITIVE STEPS" WE WOULD CONSIDER USEFUL, IN RESPONSE TO FOURIE'S REQUEST. GROUP AGREED THAT ANY SUGGESTED POSITIVE STEPS SHOULD BE PROVIDED INFORMALLY TO FOURIE, PREFERABLY BY THE CANADIAN, FRENCH, AND GERMAN AMBASSADORS, AND THAT THE SUGGESTIONS SHOULD NOT BE PROVIDED IN WRITING. IN LIGHT OF THIS PROPOSED INFORMAL MEETING WITH FOURIE, IT WAS AGREED THAT NO ADDITIONAL APPROACH TO THE SOUTH AFRICANS WOULD BE NEEDED AT THIS TIME AND THAT THE DESCRIPTION OF LATEST DEVELOPMENTS AND THE RENEWED CALL FOR RESTRAINT SHOULD BE MADE TO FOURIE AT THE SAME TIME.

- (3) IN THE COURSE OF GROUP'S DELIBERATIONS, THE SUGGESTION WAS NOTED THAT PERHAPS SOUTH AFRICA'S DECISION TO PROCEED WITH THE REGISTRATION OF VOTERS IS ALREADY A FAIT ACCOMPLI AND THAT WE MIGHT MORE CONSTRUCTIVELY URGE SOUTH AFRICA TO TAILOR CAREFULLY THEIR ANNOUNCEMENT RATHER THAN URGE THEM TO AVOID IT ENTIRELY. GROUP AGREED, HOWEVER, THAT WE MUST CONTINUE TO OPPOSE ANY CONFIDENTIAL

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COMPLICATING UNILATERAL ACTION. WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT ANY DISTINCTION WOULD BE MADE INTERNATIONALLY BETWEEN THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A REGISTRATION MACHINERY AND THE ANNOUNCEMENT AND SUBSEQUENT IMPLEMENTATION OF THE REGISTRATION PROCESS ITSELF. BOTH WOULD HAVE THE SAME NEGATIVE EFFECT. WE HAVE NO KNOWLEDGE OF THE CERTAINTY OF ANY SUCH ANNOUNCEMENT, AND OUR TREATMENT OF IT AS A FAIT ACCOMPLI MIGHT SERVE TO ASSURE IT THAT STATUS.

- (4) FOLLOWING ARE TALKING POINTS, AGREED UPON BY CONTACT GROUP AD REFERENDUM JUNE 1, FOR USE WITH FOURIE AS SOON AS APPROVED (HOPEFULLY BEFORE THE END OF THE WEEK): TALKING POINTS FOR INFORMAL APPROACH TO BRAND FOURIE:

(1) WE ARE RESOLUTELY CONTINUING OUR EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT SWAPO'S ACCEPTANCE OF OUR PROPOSAL FOR A SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA. OUR REPRESENTATIVES HAVE DISCUSSED THE CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS AT LENGTH WITH THE LEADERS OF THE FRONTLINE STATES, AND WE ARE PLEASED THAT THEY REMAIN CONVINCED OF THE VALUE OF A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. THIS IS AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT OF THE PROCESS WE ARE

TRYING TO PROMOTE. WE BELIEVE THAT MOMENTUM FOR A SETTLEMENT CAN BE REGENERATED AND ARE HOPEFUL THAT SIGNIFICANT MOVEMENT CAN SOON BE ACHIEVED.

(2) THE TASK BEFORE US IS A DIFFICULT ONE, AND TIME IS REQUIRED. WE RECOGNIZE THE NEED FOR URGENT PROGRESS AND ARE TRYING TO EFFECT IT, BUT THE SHOCK OF THE CASSINGA RAID COOTINUES TO OVERSHADOW OUR EFFORTS. PRESIDENT KAUNDA IS MEETING PRESIDENT NETO AND HAS ADVISED OUR GOVERNMENTS OF HIS INTENTION TO CALL FOR A FRONTLINE SUMMIT ON NAMIBIA SHORTLY. NO DATE HAS YET BEEE SET, BUT PRESIDENT KAUNDA IS ATTEMPTING TO ARRANGE FOR SUCH A MEETING TO BE CONVENED SOON. WHILE SUCH A MEETING CANNOT BE GUARANTEED IN ITSELF TO PRODUCE A FINAL SOLUTION, CONFIDENTIAL

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IT WOULD CLEARLY BE AN IMPORTANT STEP IN THE PROCESS.

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FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1729
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
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CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

(3) AS WE CONTINUE OUR PURSUIT OF A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT, IT IS IMPORTANT THAT NOTHING BE DONE BY SOUTH AFRICA WHICH WOULD COMPLICATE OUR EFFORTS. THE PROPOSED ANNOUNCEMENT OF REGISTRATION OF VOTERS IS SURE TO DO JUST THAT. AS WE STATED IN OUR MESSAGE OF MAY 24 TO PRIME MINISTER VORSTER: "SUCH ACTION WOULD, ON THE ONE HAND, TEND TO CONFIRM THE FEELINGS OF THOSE WHO NOW STRONGLY ARGUE THAT SOUTH AFRICA IS DETERMINED TO PURSUE A UNILATERAL AND, THEREFORE, INTERNATIONALLY UNACCEPTABLE SOLUTION OF THE NAMIBIA PROBLEM, AND ON THE OTHER HAND, WOULD BE REGARDED BY ALL, INCLUDING THE FIVE GOVERNMENTS, AS A ONESIDED STEP
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CONTRARY TO THE SPIRIT AND LETTER OF A VITAL PROVISION OF THE PROPOSAL WHICH SOUTH AFRICA HAS ACCEPTED." WE THEREFORE AGAIN URGE THAT YOU NOT MAKE SUCH AN ANNOUNCEMENT OR IMPLEMENT SUCH ACTION.

(4) WE BELIEVE IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT SOUTH AFRICA FACILITATE THE CONFIDENCE-BUILDING THAT IS URGENTLY NEEDED BY TAKING POSITIVE STEPS. IN DRAWING UP THE LIST WHICH FOLLOWS, WE HAD IN MIND OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH ELEVEN OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 385 WHICH WE BELIEVE TO BE THE APPROPRIATE FRAMEWORK FOR YOUR CONSIDERATION. THIS LIST IS ILLUSTRATIVE ONLY AND IS BY NO MEANS EXHAUSTIVE. IT IS DESIGNED TO GIVE AN INDICATION OF THE KINDS OF HELPFUL ACTIONS WHICH MIGHT BE TAKEN BY SOUTH AFRICA AT THIS CRITICAL JUNCTURE IN THE SETTLEMENT EFFORT. THE LIST FOLLOWS:

- (A) ISSUE AN ORDER REPEALING ALL TERRORISM AND INTERNAL SECURITY ACTS AS THEY APPLY TO NAMIBIA, INCLUDING AG-26;
- (B) RELEASE NAMIBIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DETAINEES, INCLUDING THOSE DETAINED UNDER AG-26;
- (C) ISSUE AN ORDER PROHIBITING ALL FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION; (IF ASKED FOR EXAMPLES, OUR AMBASSADORS SHOULD EMPHASIZE BASIC FREEDOMS AND ALSO DRAW ON POINTS F, G, AND I OF LIST SUGGESTED BY CAPE TOWN FIVE (CONTAINED PARA TWO OF CAPE TOWN 1078).
- (D) CEASE ALL ACTIVITIES, INCLUDING RADIO BROADCASTS, WHICH DEMONSTRATE PARTIALITY FOR OR AGAINST INDIVIDUAL POLITICAL PARTIES IN NAMIBIA.

(5) FURTHER ACTIONS MIGHT WELL SUGGEST THEMSELVES TO YOU. NONE OF THESE WILL, HOWEVER, HAVE ANY EFFECT UNLESS

COUPLED WITH REAL EFFORTS TO AVOID ANY FURTHER ESCALATION
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OF VIOLENCE. WE HAVE MADE CLEAR TO ALL PARTIES THAT WE
CONSIDER THE CONTINUING CYCLE OF VIOLENCE TO BE HARMFUL
TO OUR EFFORTS.

END TALKING POINTS.

END AGREED PORTION OF REPORTING CABLE.

FOLLOWING IS ADDITIONAL USUN REPORT.

(5) DURING COURSE OF CONTACT GROUP DISCUSSION
OF ABOVE TALKING POINTS, FRENCH AND GERMANS MADE KNOWN
THEIR BELIEF THAT SOME MENTION OF WALVIS BAY SHOULD BE
INCLUDED. THEY WERE PARTICULARLY CONCERNED THAT:

(A) AN EFFORT BE MADE TO ALLEVIATE VORSTER'S CONCERN,
EXPRESSED DURING HIS MAY 24 MEETING WITH THE CAPE
TOWN FIVE, THAT WALVIS BAY MIGHT BE "DRAGGED INTO THE
NEGOTIATIONS"; AND (B) SOME INDICATION BE GIVEN TO THE
SOUTH AFRICANS THAT THE FIVE MIGHT AT SOME POINT HAVE
TO STATE PUBLICLY BUT OUTSIDE THE PROPOSAL OUR POSITION
ON THE FUTURE OF WALVIS BAY. THEY FEARED THAT UNLESS
THIS LATTER POINT WERE MADE NOW THE FIVE
WOULD BE OPEN TO CHARGES OF BAD FAITH FROM THE SOUTH
AFRICANS IF AND WHEN THE FIVE DO MAKE KNOWN THEIR POSITION
ON THE FUTURE OF WALVIS BAY. THE BRITISH AND
CANADIANS QUICKLY CONCURRED.

(6) WE THEN STATED OUR VIEW (SUPPORTED BY
CAPE TOWN'S 1064) THAT THE SOUTH AFRICANS ARE
ALMOST CERTAINLY ACCURATELY INFORMED ON WHAT ACTION
WE ARE CONSIDERING ON WALVIS BAY AND THAT ANY DISCUSSION
OF THE ISSUE WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS NOW COULD RESULT
IN FURTHER COMPLICATIONS. THE OTHERS WERE NOT PERSUADED,
HOWEVER, AND IT WAS AGREED THAT THE BRITISH MIGHT
DRAFT POSSIBLE LANGUAGE FOR THE GROUP'S CONSIDERATION.
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THE BRITISH SUBSEQUENTLY DRAFTED THE FOLLOWING
WHICH RECEIVED THE SUPPORT OF THE OTHER FOUR:

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O 020140Z JUN 78

FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
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INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
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CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

"WE WERE SURPRISED THAT MR. VORSTER SEEMED TO BE
UNDER THE IMPRESSION, WHEN HE MET OUR FIVE AMBASSADORS
ON MAY 24, THAT WALVIS BAY MIGHT BE "DRAGGED INTO THE
NEGOTIATIONS". WE CAN CONFIRM WHAT YOUR CHARGE D'AFFAIRES
IN NEW YORK HAS ALREADY BEEN TOLD, NAMELY THAT OUR
PROPOSAL DOES NOT DEAL WITH WALVIS BAY, AND WILL NOT
DEAL WITH WALVIS BAY. WE HAVE REPEATEDLY MADE CLEAR
TO ALL CONCERNED THAT THIS IS A PROBLEM WHICH WILL HAVE
TO BE ADDRESSED IN NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN NAMIBIA AND
SOUTH AFRICA, BUT NOT AT THIS STAGE. YOU WILL KNOW THAT
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WE HAVE COME UNDER STRONG PRESSURE FROM THE AFRICANS
TO STATE OUR POSITION ON WALVIS BAY WHEN THE QUESTION OF

NAMIBIA IS TAKEN BEFORE THE SECURITY COUNCIL. IT IS OUR IMPRESSION, NONETHELESS, THAT MOST AFRICANS RECOGNIZE WHAT WE HAVE ALWAYS MAINTAINED, THAT THE QUESTION OF WALVIS BAY CANNOT BE RESOLVED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF OUR PROPOSAL FOR A NAMIBIAN SETTLEMENT."

(7) WE EXPRESSED OUR DISAPPROVAL OF THIS LANGUAGE FOR THE REASONS STATED ABOVE. IN ADDITION, WE OBJECT TO THE IMPLICATION THAT THE FIVE ONLY TAKE POSITIONS UNDER PRESSURE. IN RESPONSE, WE PROPOSED THE FOLLOWING ALTERNATIVE LANGUAGE: "WE WERE SURPRISED THAT MR. VORSTER SEEMED TO BE UNDER THE IMPRESSION, WHEN HE MET OUR FIVE AMBASSADORS ON 24 MAY, THAT WALVIS BAY MIGHT BE "DRAGGED INTO THE NEGOTIATIONS". AS YOU KNOW, OUR PROPOSAL DOES NOT DEAL WITH WALVIS BAY. WE HAVE REPEATEDLY MADE CLEAR TO YOU THAT WALVIS BAY IS AND WILL REMAIN A MATTER OF CONTROVERSY. WE HAVE ALSO STATED OUR VIEW THAT IT IS AN ISSUE WHICH CANNOT BE RESOLVED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF OUR PROPOSAL AND WHICH SHOULD BE ADDRESSED IN NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN NAMIBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA."

(8) THE FIVE HAVE AGREED TO REFER THIS MATTER TO CAPITALS. COMMENT. WE STILL BELIEVE THAT IT WOULD BE BEST NOT TO MENTION WALVIS BAY AT ALL IN THIS DEMARCHE; SOME MENTION, HOWEVER, SEEMS UNAVOIDABLE. WE BELIEVE, THEREFORE, THAT ANY TALKING POINT ON WALVIS BAY SHOULD BE LIMITED TO ALLEVIATING VORSTER'S WORRY AND SHOULD NOT EVEN BROACH THE QUESTION OF OUR POSSIBLE TREATMENT OF WALVIS BAY OUTSIDE THE PROPOSAL. END COMMENT. YOUNG
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 02 jun 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978USUNN02233
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780230-0475
Format: TEL
From: USUN NEW YORK
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t197806100/aaaadicg.tel
Line Count: 369
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 9615077c-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION IO
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 02 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2136044
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: NAMIBIA: NEXT STEPS CONTACT GROUP MET MAY 31 AND JUNE 1 TO DISCUSS NEXT STEPS ON NAMIBIA. FOLLOWING IS AGREED CONTACT GRO
TAGS: PORG, PDEV, SF, WA, US, UK, FR, GE, CA
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/9615077c-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014